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Message Text

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S/S - MR. BRIDGES
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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 248651 TOSEC 290021

EXDIS--FOR S/S:IRA WOLF

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, GW, US

SUBJECT: BRIEFING PAPER: BILATERAL TALKS DURING UNGA:
FRG--FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER

1. PARTICIPANTS:
US:

THE SECRETARY
COUNSELOR SONNENFELDT
ASSISTANT SECRETARY HARTMAN
DAVID ANDERSON, EUR/CE (NOTETAKER)

FRG:

FOREIGN MINISTER HANS-DIETRICH GENSCHER
FRG AMBASSADOR TO THE UN RUEDIGER VON WECHMAR
FOREIGN OFFICE POLITICAL DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR GUENTHER
VAN WELL
SECRET

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LANGUAGE: ENGLISH, GERMAN

2. CHECKLIST:

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--FRG ELECTIONS: CONGRATULATE GENSCHER ON THE SUCCESS OF

THE COALITION IN SUNDAY'S ELECTIONS. NOTE THAT THE USG--
AND YOU PERSONALLY--LOOK FORWARD TO MANY MORE YEARS OF
FRIENDLY, INVALUABLE COOPERATION WITH GENSCHER AND
SCHMIDT. (IN A LIGHTER VEIN, REMARK THAT YOU UNDERSTAND
GENSCHER WAS THE HIT OF THE GERMAN POLITICAL LEADERS'
TV DEBATE.)

--SOUTHERN AFRICA: FILL IN GENSCHER ON DEVELOPMENTS
DURING THE PAST WEEK IN YOUR EFFORT TO ENSURE PEACEFUL
SOLUTIONS IN SOUTHERN AFRICA.

--TERRORISM/HOSTAGES: WE ARE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THE
FRG INITIATIVE ON A HOSTAGES CONVENTION AND WILL WORK
CLOSELY WITH THE FRG FOR ITS SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION.

--BERLIN: WE UNDERSTAND THE FRG IS HOPEFUL OF MAKING
PROGRESS WITH THE SOVIETS ON BERLIN MATTERS: ASK HIS
VIEWS, AND EXPRESS OUR INTEREST IN CLOSE ALLIED
COORDINATION.

--GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS: ADVISE GENSCHER WE WOULD WELCOME
GERMAN SUPPORT WHEN YOUR REVISED CYPRUS PRINCIPLES COME
UP FOR DISCUSSION AT THE UPCOMING EC-9 FOREIGN MINISTERS'
MEETING.

3. SETTING:

AFTER HIS SEPTEMBER 27-28 VISIT TO THE UNGA AND
WASHINGTON, WHICH INCLUDED TALKS WITH YOU AND THE
PRESIDENT, GENSCHER HEADED BACK TO THE FINAL THREE DAYS
OF THE FRG ELECTION CAMPAIGN. IN THE OCTOBER 3 ELECTION
THE FDP AND SPD LOST STRENGTH IN THE SAME RATIO TO
THEIR 1972 PERFORMANCES, AND GENSCHER MUST HAVE BEEN
DISAPPOINTED THAT THE FDP DID NOT BENEFIT FROM THE
SECRET

LONG-EXPECTED SWING AWAY FROM THE SPD. THE FDP'S 39
SEATS--AND FDP SOLIDARITY--ARE NOW MORE CRUCIAL THAN
EVER TO THE MAINTENANCE OF THE COALITION, GIVEN ITS
MANAGEABLE YET NARROW 8-SEAT MARGIN IN THE BUNDESTAG
OVER THE CDU/CSU FORCES. ON OCTOBER 4 THE FDP PRESIDIUM
UNANIMOUSLY VOTED TO CONTINUE FULL PARTICIPATION IN
THE COALITION WITH THE SPD, AS EXPECTED. WE HAVE NO
REASON TO BELIEVE THIS SITUATION WILL CHANGE WHEN
PRESIDENT SCHEEL FORMALLY NOMINATES A "NEW" CHANCELLOR
IN MID-DECEMBER, BUT IT IS CERTAIN THAT THE CDU WILL
KEEP UP ITS PRESSURE ON THE FDP AND MAY BE ABLE AT
SOME POINT DURING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS TO WOO THEM AWAY
FROM THE SPD. MOST OBSERVERS POINT TO THE FEDERAL
PRESIDENT'S SELECTION BY THE BUNDESVERSAMMLUNG IN

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EARLY 1979 AS AN APEX FOR PRESSURE ON THE FDP; I.E. THE

CDU MAY OFFER TO SUPPORT FDP EFFORTS TO KEEP THE POSITION OF FEDERAL PRESIDENT IN EXCHANGE FOR FORMATION OF A COALITION GOVERNMENT IN BONN. IN SUM, UNEASINESS WITHIN THE FDP AND NERVOUSNESS ON THE PART OF GENSCHER CAN BE EXPECTED TO INCREASE. ALTHOUGH GENSCHER IN PUBLIC STOUTLY AND LOYALLY MAINTAINS THAT THE COALITION WILL LAST THE FULL FOUR YEARS OF THE NEXT BUNDESTAG, YOUR MEETING HIM AT THIS JUNCTURE PROVIDES YOU A USEFUL OPPORTUNITY TO PROBE HIS THINKING ON THE MATTER.

AS FAR AS FRG FOREIGN POLICY THRUST IS CONCERNED, WE SEE NO CHANCE OF THIS CHANGING IN THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE, EVEN IF THE COALITION WERE TO BECOME MORE SHAKY. WHILE FOREIGN AFFAIRS DID NOT PLAY A DOMINANT ROLE IN THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN, GERMAN PUBLIC INTEREST REMAINS STRONG IN INTERNATIONAL SECURITY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUES--INCLUDING SOUTHERN AFRICA PROBLEMS, AND ESPECIALLY NAMIBIA WITH ITS LARGE GERMAN COLONY. GENSCHER, WHO CAN BE EXPECTED TO PURSUE HIS FURTHERANCE OF CLOSER FRG-BLACK AFRICA RELATIONS, WILL BE VERY INTERESTED IN HEARING AN ACCOUNT OF THE DEVELOPMENTS OF THE PAST WEEK REGARDING CHANCES FOR PEACEFUL SOLUTIONS IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA.

4. ISSUES/TALKING POINTS:
SECRET

--1. THE FRG AT THE UNGA:
BACKGROUND: GENSCHER'S SEPTEMBER 28 UN SPEECH DEVOTED CONSIDERABLE TIME TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND REITERATED THAT THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF FRG

POLICY REMAIN EUROPEAN UNITY, THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE, "DETENTE," AND PARTNERSHIP WITH THE THIRD WORLD.

AS EXPECTED, GENSCHER CALLED FOR A UN CONVENTION BANNING THE TAKING OF HOSTAGES AND ENSURING PROSECUTION OF VIOLATORS. SUBSEQUENTLY FRG UN AMBASSADOR VON WECHMAR TOLD US THE FRG VIEWS OPTIMISTICALLY THE PROSPECTS FOR ACTION ON THE PROPOSAL: ASSURANCES OF CO-SPONSORSHIP HAVE BEEN RECEIVED FROM A SCORE OF REPRESENTATIVE THIRD WORLD COUNTRIES, AND THE ARAB CAUCUS DECIDED UNANIMOUSLY NOT TO OPPOSE THE INSCRIPTION OF THE ITEM ON THE GA'S AGENDA. (VON WECHMAR ASKED OUR HELP IN PERSUADING ISRAEL TO TAKE A LOW-KEY APPROACH.)

WE ARE ENCOURAGED THAT AN UNPRODUCTIVE AND POLITICALLY-CHARGED DEBATE IN THE UNGA OVER THE DEFINITION OF TERRORISM MAY BE AVOIDED AND HOPE THAT EXPANDED INTER-

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NATIONAL INTEREST IN THE HOSTAGES ISSUE CAN BE EXPLOITED
IN ORDER TO PUSH FOR EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL ACTION ON
THIS SPECIFIC PART OF THE PROBLEM. PROCEDURALLY WE ARE
ADOPTING, IN CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE FRG, A LOW
PROFILE AND ARE PREPARED TO GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO THE
INITIATIVE, INCLUDING CO-SPONSORSHIP, IF THIS IS FELT
BY US AND THE GERMANS TO BE TACTICALLY HELPFUL.

GENSCHER ALSO CALLED FOR A "HUMAN RIGHTS AUTHORITY" TO
WHICH INDIVIDUALS WOULD HAVE ACCESS. THIS IS A MORE
NEBULOUS PROPOSAL, ONE WE FIND COMPLEX BUT WORTHY OF STUDY.
THE SOVIETS OPPOSE IT, AND THE GERMANS ARE NOT PRESSING
THE MATTER AT THIS UNGA.

YOUR TALKING POINTS

--YOUR INITIATIVE ON HOSTAGES IS TIMELY AND PRACTICAL,
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AND WE WELCOME THE CHANCE TO SUPPORT IT.

--IT OFFERS SOME PROSPECT OF ACHIEVING EFFECTIVE
INTERNATIONAL ACTION.

--WE WILL CONTINUE TO COOPERATE CLOSELY WITH YOU IN
PURSUING A STRATEGY DESIGNED TO INCREASE THE CHANCES
FOR SPEEDY ACTION.

--2. BERLIN AND OSTPOLITIK

BACCKGROUND: RELATIONS WITH THE EAST ARE LIKELY TO
BE THE OBJECT OF CONSIDERABLE ATTENTION IN THE FIRST
MONTHS OF THE NEW LEGISLATIVE PERIOD. THEY COULD ALSO
BE THE CAUSE OF THE FIRST OPEN DISAGREEMENT BETWEEN
THE SPD AND FDP COALITION PARTNERS. SCHMIDT HAS
REPORTEDLY COME TO THE VIEW THAT THERE HAS BEEN TOO
MUCH RHETORIC AND TOO LITTLE CONCRETE ACTION FROM
THE GERMAN SIDE ON BOTH BERLIN AND OVERALL RELATIONS
WITH THE EAST. IT IS MORE OR LESS CERTAIN THAT HE
WILL ESTABLISH A NEW POST OF STATE SECRETARY FOR EASTERN
MATTERS IN THE CHANCELLERY TO INCREASE HIS PERSONAL
CONTROL OF EASTERN POLICY QUESTIONS. THERE ARE ALSO
STRONG INDICATIONS THAT THE FRG WILL TAKE THE INITIATIVE
WITH THE SOVIETS, AT LEAST CONCERNING INCLUSION OF
BERLIN IN THREE OUTSTANDING FRG-USSR AGREEMENTS. A

FURTHER POSSIBILITY IS AN FRG OFFER OF CREDITS AND
PERHAPS RELATED POLITICAL CONCESSIONS TO INDUCE THE
SOVIETS GENERALLY TO BE MORE COOPERATIVE ON BERLIN
MATTERS. A SIMILAR OFFER MIGHT BE MADE TO THE GDR IN
RETURN FOR A LOWERING OF THE AGE AT WHICH EAST GERMANS
CAN TRAVEL TO THE WEST FROM 65 TO PERHAPS 60 YEARS OLD.

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WHILE AGREEING WITH THE BASIC OUTLINES OF THIS POLICY, GENSCHER IS REPORTEDLY ANGERED BY SCHMIDT'S INTENTION TO CENTRALIZE EASTERN POLICY COORDINATION IN THE CHANCELLERY. HE IS ALSO LIKELY TO CONTINUE THE FIRM TONE ON RELATIONS WITH THE EAST WHICH HE HAS ADOPTED DURING THE PAST TWO YEARS. THE POSSIBILITY OF CONTINUED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FOREIGN OFFICE AND THE
SECRET

CHANCELLERY ON EASTERN MATTERS RAISES THE DANGER THAT THE WESTERN ALLIES WILL AGAIN FIND THEMSELVES CUT OFF FROM NECESSARY INFORMATION. LATEST REPORTS FROM BONN ARE THAT THE BREZHNEV VISIT WILL NOT TAKE PLACE UNTIL THE EARLY PART OF 1977 AND THAT DETAILED PREPARATIONS WILL GET UNDERWAY THIS FALL. IT WILL BE IMPORTANT FOR US TO HAVE THE FULLEST POSSIBLE REPORTS ON WHAT TRANSPIRES WITH THE SOVIETS IN COMING MONTHS.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

--I UNDERSTAND YOU HOPE TO MAKE PROGRESS ON BERLIN MATTERS WITH THE SOVIETS AND THAT DETAILED PREPARATIONS

FOR THE BREZHNEV VISIT ARE TO BEGIN SOON.

--I WOULD BE INTERESTED IN WHAT YOU HAVE IN MIND AND IN WHAT INDICATIONS YOU MAY HAVE HAD THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD BE MORE COOPERATIVE THAN IN THE PAST.

--OF COURSE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THE FRG COORDINATE CLOSELY WITH THE ALLIES AS THESE MATTERS PROGRESS.

--3. GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS:

BACKGROUND: THE DUTCH HAVE CIRCULATED YOUR REVISED CYPRUS PRINCIPLES AMONG THE EC-9, AND WE WOULD WELCOME GERMAN SUPPORT WHEN THE MATTER COMES UP FOR DISCUSSION AT THE NINE'S FOREIGN MINISTERS' MEETING IN MID-OCTOBER.

YOUR TALKING POINTS:

--MY UNGA SPEECH SET THE STAGE FOR THE UTILIZATION OF A NEW SET OF CYPRUS PRINCIPLES, WHICH I WOULD HOPE COULD UNBLOCK THE CURRENT NEGOTIATING IMPASSE. MY SPEECH RECEIVED GENERALLY FAVORABLE COMMENTS FROM BOTH THE GREEK AND TURKISH CYPRIOTS.

--IN PARALLEL WITH THE EC-9, I WOULD LIKE TO PRESENT THESE PRINCIPLES TO THE PARTIES IN THE NEAR FUTURE.
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I HOPE THAT STUDY OF THE TEXT WILL CONVINCE YOU THAT
THEY REPRESENT A BALANCED, EQUITABLE APPROACH TO THE
KEY OUTSTANDING CYPRUS ISSUES.

--THE GREEKS AND TURKS DISCUSSED THE AEGEAN IN NEW YORK
AND AGREED ON A SCHEDULE FOR FURTHER TECHNICAL LEVEL
DISCUSSIONS IN NOVEMBER. FOR THE MOMENT, I THINK
THERE IS NOTHING MORE WE CAN REALISTICALLY DO TO HELP.

5. DRAFTED: EUR/CE: K. KURZE, J. KORNBLUM; EUR/SE:
N. LEDSKY
CLEARED: C, HOPPER; IO/UNP, HELMAN; IO/HR, CRAWFORD;
S/S-S, MR. CHAPMAN. EUR - MR. ARMITAGE;

ROBINSON

SECRET

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